

10.
*The INNOCENCE of PROTESTANT
DISSENTERS Clear'd and Vindicated,
IN
Reference to the Transactions of 41,
and the Death of K. CHARLES I.*

I N A
S E R M O N

Preach'd at

PLYMOUTH,

Jan. 30th. 17¹⁶₁₇.

Being a LECTURE-DAY.

By *JOHN ENTY.*

L O N D O N :

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THE PREFACE.



HO' I might excuse myself from giving the World an Account, why I publish this Discourse at this Time ; yet that none may be at a loss, I am willing they should know, That 'tis not altogether without Desire, that it did not make its Appearance sooner : But Business, and other Reasons, would not allow me to prepare it for the Press. However, tho' it may seem to come Abroad a little late, yet it can't be thought, that such a Discourse is ever out of Season, when the Facts that I endeavour to purge myself and other Dissenters from, are made a standing, as well as great Objection against us.

I am sensible, that the Subject I have ventur'd to handle, is of so nice and ticklish a Nature, that some perhaps will hardly be pleas'd, tho' I have had the strictest regard to Truth and Peace : But I should be very sorry, if what I have said, with an honest Design, to clear our Reputation, and

to remove one of the grand Obstructions of Peace and Charity, should raise the Passions of any: For tho' my Conscience won't suffer me to be any other than I am; yet, I have a just Value for all good Men, and the greatest for those that are best, let their particular Persuasions be what they will.

I am not without hope, however high our Animosities may run at present, that a Time may come, when Mercy and Truth will meet together, and Righteousness and Peace will kiss each other; and when all our unhappy Distinctions will be swallow'd up. And 'tis with Concern I have long observ'd, how our nearer Coalition hath been studiously obstructed by those Facts, that have been done so long ago, and disown'd by those of our Way. I judg'd, that if this great Prejudice was remov'd, a stricter Union among Protestants of all Denominations might be the happy and glorious Consequence; and if what I have offer'd, should have no Success in serving such a blessed and desirable End, I am sure, I shall be disappointed. I can't be confident, that I have hit upon the right Method of promoting so noble a Design: But, if I have not, 'tis not for want of Inclination; it must be charg'd on my Judgment, but can't on my Will: For as I never affected to be a Bigot, so I hope I never shall.

I was inclin'd to believe, That to set our Innocence in a clear Light, in that Instance, that is the Subject of the ensuing Discourse, might be of some Use, not only to promote Peace, but to convince

vince the Prejudic'd, that neither our Principles or Practices, do render us unworthy of any Favour that may be desir'd by us from our Legislators ; That the Dissenters are not a Set of People, that will be dangerous to Church or State, if they are freed from those Hardships that have of late been laid upon them, and restor'd to a Capacity of serving their King and Country. The Church and State were declar'd to be in a most safe and flourishing Condition, when they enjoy'd this Privilege ; and 'twas not so much as pretended, that I know of, when it was taken from them, that they had abus'd it.

IF any seem unwilling, that they should be repossess'd of such a Favour, I am sure, there are none that will so much regret it, as the Papists ; because they know, that 'twill be an Obstruction to their grand Design. We shall by this Means be in a better Condition, to joyn with the Church, in opposing Popery, and a popish Pretender. And if after Trial, they don't find us, as hearty as they can wish in this Respect ; Let our abus'd Favours be all resum'd ; Let new Burdens, with what Additions shall be thought fit, be laid upon us. Our Ingratitude, in this Case, will be our Condemnation, and justify much greater Severities, than any that have been exercis'd upon us ; we shall (to use the Expression of a great Man) deserve to be hated by God and Men.

I hope, what I have said, may satisfy the World,
That our past Conduct doth deserve neither : That
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if the King and Parliament are censur'd for any Tenderneſs to Diſſenters, as betraying the Church, and endangering the State, 'tis cauſeleſs and unjuſt; That we are Enemies to Faction in the one, and Schiſm in the other; and that our Relief, will be the Glory, Security, and Proſperity of both. If ever we prove Enemies, as I am very confident we ſhall not, 'twill be eaſy to curb us: But as long as we are Friends, and peaceable, I hope, thoſe that are good, and have always valu'd themſelves upon their Moderation, will not envy us, or be uneaſy, if we, whom they own for their Fellow-Chriſtians, ſhould be treated by our Legiſlators as their Fellow-Subjects.

John Enty.



Acts



Acts xv. 7, 8.

And when he was come, the Jews which came down from Jerusalem, stood round about, and laid many and grievous Complaints against Paul, which they could not prove : While he answered for himself, Neither against the Law of the Jews, neither against the Temple, nor yet against Cæsar, have I offended any thing at all.



*T*O fast for Strife and Debate, and to smite with the Fist of Wickedness, is a Practice, that GOD did condemn of old in the Jews * : And yet, with many among us, this hath been a common, and applauded Practice, as on this Day, for now more than half a Century of Years. The usual Way, with many, of observing this Anniversary, hath been, not so much to humble themselves for their own Sins, as to inveigh with Bitterness against the Faults of others. And in these *Invectives*, it hath not been customary, to make any

* Isaiah lvii. 4.

any Distinction; but to condemn the Innocent with the Guilty, and to exasperate those, as much as possible, that are of the *Establish'd Church*, against all that out of *Conscience* dissent from it. And by this Piece of *Policy*, those unhappy Differences, that Time, and good Temper, might have done much to extinguish, have not only been perpetuated, but greatly widen'd; and that which a Catholick and Christian Charity, would have made but little of, (if Mens Passions had not been annually inflam'd against us) hath prov'd the sad and melancholy Occasion of a great deal of Feud and Animosity.

THIS doleful Effect of this Day's Observation, hath piously been consider'd by some, and for this Reason, there have been several, of the best and truest Friends of the Church, who have wish'd, that the *Remembrance* of this Day was laid aside, hoping, that if this great *Engine* of Division, and exasperating us one against another, was broken and disus'd, we might live in a sweeter Concord with one another; and act more suitably to the Relations and Obligations of Fellow-Subjects, and Fellow-Christians: But this happy *Expedient* for a Reconciliation, hath not been more earnestly desir'd by some, than it hath been violently oppos'd by a greater Number. They have thought it for the Interest of the *Church*, to have at least one Day in a Year freely to vent their *Spleen* against those that differ from them; and to say all the hard Things of them that they can. And if herein they had been careful to confine themselves to *Fact* and *Truth*, as Persons (especially of a *sacred Character*) should; they could have done us none, or but very little Prejudice: But many, like the *Jews* in my Text, do on this Day, lay many and grievous *Complaints* against us, which they are not able to prove. And thus the Ignorant, and those that
were

were much too angry before, have not only their violent Passions kept up, but are fill'd with greater Rage against us. Now, tho' under such an unjust Treatment, we ought not to render *Evil for Evil, and Railing for Railing*; yea, tho' we ought to forgive them, for this and all their other *hard Usage*; yet, seeing we are perfectly innocent, as to those many odious Things that are laid to our Charge, we may, with *St. Paul*, apologize for ourselves, and do Justice to our injur'd Cause and Reputation, by answering, as he did, *That neither against the Law, nor against the Temple, nor yet against Cæsar, have we offended any thing at all.* Very sure I am, that we have not offended in that popular and inflaming Instance that is charg'd upon us, of cutting off the Head of *King Charles I.* That this Fact was committed, can't be deny'd: But, as it was, at the Time that it was done, dislik'd by those of our Way; so it has been disown'd by us ever since. And therefore, if *Charity* could not (which yet we don't need in this Case) yet *Justice* should have kept Men from laying it to our Charge. The Carriage therefore of the *Jews* towards *St. Paul*, and his Answer to the Charge that was brought against him, I have taken for my Text; and in speaking to it shall do these Things.

I. CONSIDER the *Jews* Carriage towards *St. Paul*.

II. I SHALL consider *St. Paul's* Innocence, in Reference to those Things of which he was accus'd. And in speaking to both these, I shall have a particular Regard to the Occasion of this Day, and the unjust Treatment, that from many we commonly have upon it.

III. I SHALL conclude with an Exhortation to Dissenters, to carry it so, as that however we are accus'd, none may be able to prove any Thing upon us,
B unworthy

unworthy of the Character of good Christians, or good Neighbours, or good Subjects.

I. I AM to consider the Carriage of the Jews towards St. Paul. My Text says, *That they laid many and grievous Complaints against him.* And I can't wonder at all that they did so, when they had done the same, or worse before against his *Innocent Master.* Marvel not, says CHRIST to his Disciples, *if the World hate you, ye know that it hated me before it hated you* *. Our blessed SAVIOUR did many Things to oblige the Jews. He was the tenderest, and greatest Friend that ever they had. He spent all the Time of his *publick Ministry* among them; and did all that was fit and proper to be done to make them happy: But because He assum'd the Character that He did, and attempted a *Reformation* of those Things that were really amiss among them; therefore they were so maliciously and vehemently set against Him, that nothing could satisfy them but his Blood.

'T WAS because St. Paul was a zealous Disciple of CHRIST JESUS, that the Jews were so exasperated and enrag'd against him. He had done nothing at all to deserve their Hatred: Nay, he was passionately concern'd for their Good. He was so much their Friend, that he was ready to have done or suffer'd any Thing, to bring them into the right Way of Salvation: But because he could not be such a fond Admirer of their Ceremonies as formerly he had been; because he could not concur with them in all religious Matters, but attempted to set up the Christian Religion in its *native* and most admirable *Purity*; therefore presently, he must be every Thing that's bad. Tho' he was really in the right as to his *Religion*, and exactly loyal in Point of *Politicks*; yet because he

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* John xv. 18.

was not a *Jew*, and a *Stickler* for that Church, of which he had lately been a most warm Member; therefore, he must of Consequence, be a *Traytor* and a *Rebel*, and deeply engag'd in some *Plot* or other, to pull down the *Roman Emperor*. In short, he must be an inveterate Enemy to the Jewish Church, and the Roman State; yea, also an implacable Adversary to GOD Himself. These were some of the *Highb-flying* Extravagancies, into which their Zeal for their antiquated Ceremonies did transport the *Jews*.

ST. *Paul* was of the same Religion for Substance, and in such Things as are always necessary, as the *Jews* were. And then, he had much better Notions in Point of *Politicks*, than the *Jews* had. Our SAVIOUR, whom this Apostle did strictly follow, did not destroy the least Branch of the Moral Law: Nor laid aside any of the Jewish Religion, but its *Imperfections*. And then, whereas the *Jews* only submitted to the *Roman Government* to avoid Wrath, St. *Paul* adviseth Christians to do it for *Conscience Sake*. So that, in Reality, he was much more for the true Religion, and the Church of GOD, and a much better Subject of the *Roman Government*, than the *Jews* could pretend to be; and yet, so great and bitter was their Rage against him, for want of conforming to their abolish'd Ceremonies, that nothing less than his Life, could be an atoning Sacrifice for his suppos'd Mistakes. The *Jews* declare so much, that St. *Paul* was not worthy to live. And if by their Violence, and Rage, and Interest in *Festus* the *Roman Deputy*, they could have possess'd him with an Opinion, that St. *Paul* was a Person of *Antimonarchical Principles*, and only wanted an Opportunity to subvert the State, and that he was already engag'd in a Design against *Cæsar*, they would have carry'd 'tis likely their grand Point, and drench'd them-

selves, with that Blood of the Christians that they thirsted after: But the *Roman* Government tho' Heathen, was too just and equitable, to take Accusation for Proof, and to take away a Man's Life upon malicious Surmises without Evidence; at least, it was so at that Time; tho' afterwards indeed, many Thousands were destroy'd for no other Reason but because they were Christians.

BOTH *Agrippa* and *Festus* were so entirely satisfi'd concerning *St. Paul's Innocence* and *Loyalty*, that they readily agree, he *might have been set at Liberty, if he had not made an Appeal to Cæsar*. He tells us, *chap. xxviii. 19*, that he was *constrain'd to do this* to save his Life. By which Constraint we may be sensible, of the sanguinary Nature and Effects of *Bigotry*. And certainly 'tis this Monster, that hath kindled those fatal Feuds and Animosities, that to the great Disgrace and Prejudice of Christianity, have happen'd among Christians. 'Tis this, that is the Parent of those plentiful Accusations that are usually scatter'd this Day with so much Warmth, and Unchristian Zeal among us. For, if Persons were calm and considerate, according to the mild and excellent Directions of Christianity; If Persons before they speak, would consult History more, and their Passions less; If Persons would speak according to *Fact*, and not according to *Prejudice* and *Prepossession*; they could not charge those that commonly they do, either with the Beginning, or Consequences of that Unnatural War, that was kindled among us in Forty-one, and ended at last in the Subversion of *Monarchy*, and the Destruction of him, whom they call the *Royal Martyr*.

THE great, and true Ground of those many hard Accusations that are brought against us, is, That we can't agree with others (as *St. Paul* could not with the *Jews*) in some *religious Opinions*. These

These *Higb* and fierce *Zealots* (For, 'tis of such that I would be understood throughout this Discourse, and not of those much better Church-Men, as well as Christians, who are for Temper, and Moderation, for an Abatement of Ceremonies, and leaving those Indifferent that are retained, and Reforming some other things that are owned to need Reformation.) These Zealots, I say, are with the *Jews*, Inflexibly stiff for a *Ceremonious Religion*; We for better Reasons (as we think) with *St. Paul*, are against it. *They* are for Terms of Communion of their own Establishment without Scripture: *We* are only for such as CHRIST hath established in the Scriptures. As far as the Scriptures go, *i. e.* as far as the great *Substantials* of Religion are concern'd, we freely and heartily agree with them: But we can't consent, that these Things should be made a Part of our Religion, that CHRIST hath not made so. And we are forc'd to dislike it, that *Conformity* in such Things, where Mens Consciences are so easily, and justly liable to start Objections, should be insisted upon with more Rigour in order to Communion, than *Faith*, *Repentance*, and *good Works*.

WE have had a long Time to consider those Things that are in Difference between us. We have (to make us sufficiently thoughtful about these Things) been put under a great many Discouragements. We have been treated with Mildness, and also severely persecuted; and no doubt, have consider'd these Things again and again, with the utmost Seriousness and Impartiality. We are at present under discouraging Circumstances, incapable of serving our King and Country (both which we love, with an intense Affection) except in those Capacities that are chargeable without Honour, and troublesome without Profit; and yet, still we are of the same Opinion. 'Tis no

Obstinacy

Obstinacy therefore, but that which is commendable, and which every Christian should glory in, that makes us what we are : But, by what Consequence will it follow from hence, that we had a Principal Hand in the Quarrels of Forty-one? That we dethron'd the KING, brought him to the Scaffold, and cut off his Head? Why must we be against *Cæsar*, because we can't be for some needless Ceremonies? Why must we be against the State, and unfit to be tolerated, or even to live, because we can't be for those that we apprehend to be unscriptural *Officers*, and unscriptural *Impositions*? And for those Things that were unknown in *Primitive Christianity*, and are only the Inventions of latter and more ignorant Ages, and were retain'd by our first *Reformers*, with no other View, than to gain over the *Papists*, who were extremley fond of 'em, as Things that were peculiarly their own, but without the expected Success? Why can't we be good Subjects here, as well as on the other side the *Tweed*, and as well as they are in other Protestant Countries, where they have none of these Things, that we think are very justly scrupled at by us?

WHAT is there in those Things that are objected against, to make us more Loyal? Why should a Man be a better Subject, and fitter for a Place of Trust, that hath his Child cross'd, and hath *Godfathers*, and *Godmothers*; that kneels at the Sacrament, that useth a *Liturgy*; that owns the superior Authority of *Bishops* and their *Courts*, &c. than one that hath not? These are not Things of a Civil Nature; nor do they at all respect the Civil Government: Nay, these are not Things of CHRIST's Institution, but tend, as we think, to the Prejudice of his Cause and Kingdom; and for this Reason, we have chosen and still chuse rather to suffer than comply. And did not St. *Paul*, and
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the first Christians chuse to do the same? But what is there in any of these Things, inconsistent with *Monarchy*? Or inconsistent with *Loyalty*? Or indeed inconsistent with *Religion*, or the Safety and Honour of the Church of CHRIST? But so some *Bigots* will have it, that we must be every Thing that's bad, because of these Things. Yea, to such a Prodigious Height is this carried by some, that those who are for our Liberty and Toleration, must, notwithstanding the strictest and most regular *Conformity*, be Enemies to the Church; yea, *Atheists*, *Infidels*, and those that are for the utter Subversion of all Religion. They are even worse than the *Presbyterians* themselves, who yet are so bad, that they are not fit to live.

THUS, we sadly see the great Power and Influence of Bigotry, to inflame Mens Passions, and over-set their Reason: But our great Comfort is, That as the *Jews* were not able to prove those Things of which they accus'd St. Paul; so neither are others able to prove those Things of which they accuse us. However, seeing we are so fiercely assaulted, St. Paul's Practice will bear us out in a modest Vindication of ourselves. And this is that, which

II. I COME and crave leave to do. And here it might be sufficient to deny what others can't pretend to prove: But the *Clamour* against us is so loud and constant, that it may be necessary a little to insist upon our *Innocence*, as to those Things that are charg'd upon us. And here I shall confine myself to the Particulars of St. Paul's Answer and Defence.

I. THEN, we plead, That we have in Nothing so notoriously offended against the *Law*, as by many hath been suggested to our Reproach. I mean, against the Law of Nature, of Scripture, or of our Country. For these, as they teach us to be of the
true

true Religion ; so in forming our Notions of this, they oblige us to follow our own Judgment. Indeed as we believe the Certainty of Scripture Revelation, and own the Revelations contain'd in Scripture, to be the standing and settled *Measure* of our *Opinions* and *Practices*, so we are not at Liberty to take up with any Thing that we know to be contrary thereto. But then, as we have no infallible Expositor of the Scriptures, on whom we can depend ; so all must be left to their own Light, and not forc'd to take up with that as the Sense of Scripture, which some dogmatical Persons say is, and others less positive, but yet as pious and impartial, as wise and learned as they, say is not. In this Sense, *we are to call no Man Master upon Earth* ; and upon this noble Principle, the REFORMATION from *Popery* did proceed.

ACCORDING to this Principle therefore, Men are not to be look'd upon as wilful *Perversers* of the Laws of GOD, and right Reason, tho' they have not just the same Sentiments of them that others have. And to this Purpose, I shall mention one famous Instance, that had a mighty Influence upon the Calamities that are brought to Remembrance this Day, and many other Evils that have since happen'd to these Nations. That which I intend is, the Instance of an *unlimited Passive-Obedience* to the higher Powers. This Doctrine of an unlimited Submission to those in Power, was preach'd up with a great deal of Warmth, long before the Civil Wars, and brought to justify those *extraordinary Measures* that were taken by King *Charles*, and his Ministers to raise Money. This was call'd then, as it hath been since, when any arbitrary Design was upon the *Anvil*, the Doctrine of the Church. And this Subjection, which was so earnestly pleaded for, had to make it go down the better, the gilded and specious Title of *Apostolical*

folical Obedience. Those that oppos'd it, as inconsistent with Liberty, and the Safety of the Constitution, and as calculated for *Tyranny* and *Arbitrary Power*, were not only look'd upon with an evil Eye, but felt the durable Marks of *Court-Displeasure*, and were represented as Enemies to God and the King. Particularly Dr. *Abbot*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, was suspended from his Function, and died in Disgrace, for refusing to Licence *Sibthorp's* Sermon, which Bp. *Laud*, who succeeded him, ventur'd to do : As also Dr. *Manwaring's*, wherein were these remarkable Expressions : " That the King is not bound to observe
" the Laws of the Realm, concerning the Subjects
" Rights and Liberties; but that his Royal Word
" and Command, in imposing Loans and Taxes
" without Consent of Parliament, does oblige
" the Subjects Consciences under Pain of Damnation. That those who refus'd to pay this Loan,
" did offend against the Law of God, and became guilty of Impiety, Disloyalty and Rebellion, and that the Authority of Parliaments, is
" not necessary for raising Aids and Subsidies." 'Twas also the current Doctrine of those Times, That to resist in any Case, how important and necessary soever, was inevitable Damnation.

THE Nation was not always of this Opinion, as is plain, from the Assistance they gave the *Dutch*, in Queen *Elizabeth's* and King *James's* Time, to assert their Liberties. Yea, King *Charles* was not always of this Opinion himself, as is evident from his Letters to the Protestants of *Rochel*, and the Succours that he sent them by the Duke of *Buckingham*, and the *Faßt* that he order'd among his own Subjects on their Behalf. However, afterwards he lik'd the Doctrine so well, and found it so agreeable to his Designs and Management, that it drew him, as a *Church of England* Divine
C says,

says, into a separate Interest from his People; and was much the Occasion of that War, that afterwards issu'd in his Ruin *. "One would think, (as another Divine of the same Church says) † "that if we were to judge of the Design of this "Doctrine, by its Effects, that it was calculated "for the Destruction of Princes; for it lays a "Bait for Attempts at *Arbitrary Power*, and then "leaves them to fall under the Weight of it. "And this, (as he goes on) was the Case of a "late *unfortunate Prince*. This Doctrine engag'd "him to pursue such Measures as prov'd fatal to "him." Bishop *Burnet* tells us, in his Speech on *Dr. Sacheverell's Tryal*, That he forewarn'd King *James* of this Consequence; and that this Doctrine was not to be depended upon. And very happy hath it been for these Nations that it is not: For if it had, we had been as *Sodom* and *Gomorrha*. But, tho' an *absolute Submission* was preach'd up; yet a *real Resistance* was practis'd, and not thought to be any Way inconsistent with *St. Paul's Doctrine of being subject to the higher Powers*. These thought with others, when their *Lives* and *Free holds* were in danger, that in Case of absolute Necessity, and to avoid an impending Ruin, we might resist a *Power* so perverted and abus'd, a *Power* employ'd to enslave the Nation, and ruin the *Constitution*, which should be employ'd for their Security and Preservation, without resisting the *Ordinance of God*: or any Fear of a *future Damnation*, for standing up in Defence of all that was dear and valuable to them. I can't blame them that they had such just Apprehensions. However, the Remembrance of this, methinks should for ever silence the
Religion

* Mr. *Stevens's* Sermon on the 20th of January 1691. p. 18.

† Dr. *West's* Sermon on the 30th of January 1709, before the House of Commons. p. 19, 20.

Raileries of this Day; because it can't be more lawful to resist the Son, than it was the Father, if he pursu'd the same *Measures*, as the *Historians* of those Times say he did. But, let this be as it will as to the Father, it will appear hereafter, that as they were *Churchmen*, that had the great Hand in the *Revolution*, so also had they in the *Civil Wars* of Forty One.

THAT we, who are *Dissenters*, had any Concern in the *glorious Revolution*, is what we can't but value ourselves upon. 'Twas the *Cause* of *Liberty*, in which we then engag'd. A Cause too Glorious to be condemn'd by the Laws of GOD, and Right Reason. A Cause, in which we should never stick to venture our dearest Blood. A Cause to the Success and Prosperity of which, we are under GOD indebted, for the Invaluable Happiness of the present Reign, the bright Prospects that we have from the Royal Family, and the Security of all the great and peculiar Felicities that we enjoy. We can't be asham'd, that we are the Opposers of that supposed Law that would make us Slaves; And 'tis a Satisfaction, that in this our Opposition, we have the hearty Concurrence of those, who have always been the *Noble*, and best *Patriots* of our British *Liberties*. But we are satisfied, that this can't be the Law of GOD. If it was, we should readily submit thereto: And cheerfully bear the worst Consequences that should flow from it. If it was not lawful in any Case, or upon any *Pretence* whatsoever, to stand up in defence of our Liberties, we would freely surrender them. We would not condemn, I hope, the Doctrine as sinful, and also act according to it when there should be Occasion; we would not make it a Law to others, and not suffer it to oblige ourselves. We dare not thus trifle with any of the Laws of GOD. Against these, I hope, we may safely

ly say, we have not offended in this Matter.

(2). WE can say, with the same *Truth*, and *Security* that St. Paul did, that we have not offended against the *Temple*. The Apostle by this Expression can never mean, that he did nothing to establish *Christianity*, and by Consequence to overturn the *Temple-Service*. As an Apostle, he was oblig'd to preach the Gospel; and if that may be call'd an Offence against the Temple, so he was guilty. But then, he had the Commission of Him who is the Head of the Church, to bear him out. And therefore, if his Preaching tended to the Prejudice of the Temple, it was not criminal, unless it can be prov'd that he exceeded his Commission, and did something that he had not Authority to do.

THE Case, I take to be the very same with respect to us: We reckon it our Duty in some Things to dissent from the *Established Church*. We may be allow'd to speak it with *Sincerity*, that there is nothing else, to which we could so easily sacrifice all our Prospects of greater Honour and Interest, if we were of another Opinion. We allow the Doctrines of the Church to be good; but can't approve it's *Ceremonies*. We approve the *Substance* of it's Worship; but the *Manner* of it we are forc'd to dislike, as not, in our Apprehensions, so agreeable to the Scriptures. Some of its Officers we own to be of a Divine Institution; but of others we can't have the same *Sentiments*. Its *Discipline* we look upon to be extreamly defective; and not calculated to answer the great Ends of Religion; and this is no more, than the Church itself doth acknowledge, and speaks of it, as a Thing much to be wish'd, that the *Primitive Discipline* was restor'd *. 'Twould take up too much Time to descend to Particulars, and reckon up all the

* Rubrick for *Ashwednesday*.

the Objections that we have against *Conformity*: And which are, as we think, the very justifiable Grounds of our *Dissent*. However, tho' we can't give up those invaluable Liberties wherewith CHRIST hath made us free; tho' we think it necessary to insist upon a further Reformation, and dare not compliment any with our Consciences, because we think it GOD's Prerogative alone to prescribe to these; tho' we have contented ourselves to struggle with many Difficulties ever since the *Restoration*: Yet those that are impartial must allow, that we have manag'd our Dissent with a great deal of *Temper* towards the Church; and have been satisfy'd to sit down contented under many Hardships, rather than do it a *Prejudice*.

OUR Innocence in this Respect, is so clear and incontestable, that when some, who would be thought the Church's best Friends, had suggested in their Debates on the *Occasional-Bill*, in the Beginning of the late *Reign*; That the Dissenters never wanted a Will, when they had a Power, to destroy the Church and State; the Lords declare, "That it was hard, as well as untrue, to say this: Since in the last and greatest Danger the Church was expos'd to, they joyn'd with her with all imaginable Zeal and Sincerity against the Papists, their common Enemies, shewing no Prejudice to the Church, but the utmost Respect to her Bishops, when sent to the Tower; and that ever since, they have continu'd to shew all the Signs of Friendship and Submission to the Government of Church and State *." Such a Declaration as this, upon so solemn and great an Occasion, and by such a wise and noble Part of the *Legislature*; by those that are some of the best Friends, as well as the brightest Ornaments of the

* Proceedings of the House of Lords on the *Occasional-Bill*. pag. 17.

the Church, is a Testimony beyond all Exception, to the Truth of what I say. Yea, that very Act, that is now thought so serviceable to the Church, and which hath prov'd of such ill Consequence to us, (the *Test-Act* I mean) was promoted and encourag'd by the Dissenters, that the Papists might not have it in their Power to destroy the *Protestant Religion* *. And so great was their Regard to the Protestant Interest, that tho' they had seen, and been sure, that the unkind Use would have been made of it that now there is; yet for the Publick Good, for the Security of our Common Christianity, and to guard against *Idolatry* and *Superstition*, They, and we that succeed them in their Principles and Profession, would have come into it. A great *Author*, and *Ornament* of the Church, in one of his Speeches on the *Occasional-Bill*, hath these Expressions: " In the End of " King *Charles II's* Reign, we all remember, that " a new Prosecution of the Dissenters was set on " foot, and even then, when the Severities against " them were very hard, they were solicited by " the Agents of the Court, to petition for a *gene-* " *ral Toleration*; but they could not be prevail'd " on †." This generous Regard to the Protestant Religion, and the Safety of their Country, as it much deserves, so in time, I hope it may have its just Consideration; and that we, who in the worst of Times, prov'd ourselves to be hearty Protestants; shan't always be upon a *Level* with *Papists* and *Jacobites*, the profess'd Enemies of the Government in Church and State.

I KNOW, it is often brought as an Objection against us, That in King *James's* Time, we complimented that Prince upon his dispensing with the *Penal Laws*: But if some Few did this, and perhaps

* Collection of Speeches, Preface, &c. by B^r Burnet. p. 72.

† Bishop Burnet, Id. ib. p. 72.

perhaps in Terms that can't be justify'd; yet the Generality, as apprehensive of its Consequences, did dislike it. But then, to ballance this false Step of a Few of the Dissenters; it should be considered, that there were several of the Church that did the same, and that in Terms more high and fulsome than any that were us'd by us. And besides, as B^p Burnet says, some *Judges*, many *Sheriffs* and *Magistrates* comply'd with the Designs of the Court *.

"It can't so much be wonder'd at, if, (as an Historian says †,) "the Dissenters were not so fond of Persecution and ill Usage, as to refuse a Liberty that was frankly offer'd them, which neither their Prayers, nor Tears could obtain before: Nor if they did not think it good Manners to enquire too narrowly how that Liberty came about, as long as they were shelter'd thereby from the Oppressions they lay under." To which let me add, That it can't be strange, if under the joyful Surprize of being freed from very great *Hardships* some unadvis'd Expressions did drop from some of them. This, I think, must at least, be more excusable in us, than it could be in those who had Nothing to complain of, but were always in Favour. But granting, that some Few, (who had not the Thanks of the Generality of their Brethren) did amiss; yet it is own'd, among other Things to our Praise, by the Author of *The Advantages of the present Settlement* ‡, that it was much owing to the *Fidelity* of our Party at that *critical Time*, that the *popish Party* met with so great a Disappointment in their Designs. Had the Dissenters been so intent upon the Ruin of the Church, as by some they have been represented; they wanted neither Opportunity nor Encouragement

* Collection of Speeches, Preface, &c. p. 99.

† *Welwood's Memoirs*, p. 195, 196.

‡ *State Tracts*, Vol I. p. 267.

couragement in two successive Reigns. And it must be known, that they suffer'd extreamly, because they would not put a helping Hand to pull it down.

THAT the Constitution was very much chang'd by the *Civil Wars* is a *Fact* that we never pretend to deny: But this, as the Lord *Clarendon* says, was not an *Original Design*. And besides, 'tis likely the *Scots* would never have insisted so much upon such an Alteration, if they had not before been sour'd, and exasperated by *Persecution*. But a *Liturgy* was violently obtruded upon them. They were treated as *Rebels* for not submitting to Bp. *Laud's* Impositions. By his and the Instigation of some others, there was a first and second War commenc'd against them. When therefore, they were thus harast and oppress'd without any Cause; that they attempted to prevent such mischiefs for the future, by bringing the *Church of England* somewhat nearer to their own *Model*, which they thought to be much better, it is not so much to be wonder'd at. And besides, those that consented to such an Alteration, were, to a very few, of the Church themselves, and a considerable part of the Legislature; who had always reserv'd a Power to themselves, to make such Alterations in Church Affairs, (as are own'd to be alterable) as they thought fit. With what Justice then can Dissenters be blam'd, that *Churchmen* were the Instruments of such a Reformation, as they thought would be for the Honour of Christianity, and was no other than our first *Reformers* from Popery had in View? Should they not have come into that, which they had so much, and so long desir'd in Vain? Should they have rejected that, which they always thought to be very needful? No, they must have been altogether inconsistent with themselves, if they had not thankfully accepted of those

Alterations

Alterations that the *Legislature* thought fit to make.

INDEED, if ever we had betray'd the Church to *Popery*; if ever we had joyn'd with the *Papists* to pull it down: In such a Case as this, it might fairly, and with Justice to our Reproach be said, that we were Enemies to the Church. But, if the Church itself should think fit to throw itself into a more *scriptural Model*, a Model better calculated to answer the great Designs of Christianity; we could not but rejoice in such a Change, as one of the greatest Blessings that ever these Nations were favour'd with. Such a happy Change was set on Foot, both after the *Restoration, and Revolution*, by some of the truest and best Friends, by some of the wisest, most pious, and learned Defenders that ever the Church had. Must the Church then be an Enemy to itself, because for the Sake of *Peace*, and greater *Purity*, it was willing to part with some Things, that it always thought it could conveniently spare; and which, if given up, would have been for the Church's Honour? If so, we are content to be look'd upon also as Enemies to the Church. But to say, That as a *Body*, we ever did any Thing, either secretly, or openly, to ruin the *Protestant Interest* in these Nations, is farther from Truth, than the two *Poles* are from one another. But the greatest Charge of all, is yet behind; and that is,

3. THAT the Dissenters have most notoriously offended against *Cæsar*. Before I make our Defence against this Charge, it mayn't be improper to observe, how very unfit those are to make it, who are most clamorous and bitter upon such Occasions. These are such, for the most part, as by their Behaviour, give a very strong Suspicion, that they are, notwithstanding their Oaths to the GOVERNMENT, and the signal Advantages that they have under it, *Well-wishers* to the Cause of

1715. Now, if we compare the Civil Wars of 41, with the *Rebellion* that was carry'd on then, we shall find, that there's a thousand times more to be said against the Latter than against the Former: For whatever some may say concerning him, whom they style the *Royal Martyr*, 'tis very evident, that King GEORGE and his *Ministry* did never do a thousandth part so much to exasperate the Nation, as was done by King *Charles* and his *Ministry*.

PARTICULARLY, He never erected a Court of *Star-Chamber*, or *Higb-Commission*, little better than an Inquisition, to worry and torture such as were innocent. Again, King GEORGE hath never given us the least Jealousy, that He hath any Design to introduce Popery; nay, the late Rebellion, is a clear Demonstration that He hath not. Again, our most Excellent KING, did never attempt to secure any *Members* of Parliament, without Consent of Parliament: But hath as strictly kept to the Laws and Constitution, as ever any King of *England* did; more strictly, I am sure, than most of our own *native* Kings, tho' one great Objection against him is, That He is a *Foreigner*. Again, His Present MAJESTY was never suspected of signing Commissions with his own Hand for the Destruction of his Protestant Subjects by bloody Papists; nor have any suffer'd of any Denomination, upon that Account, since He came to the Crown; and I have Reason to think never will, considering the unparallel'd *Mercy* and *Mildness* of the Present *Administration*. What Temptations He might be under to act contrary to his *natural* and most pleasing Inclinations, should He change Hands, I shan't say; but whilst He acts according to his own most admirable *Temper*, and the *Advice* of those truly great and wise Persons that are about Him, I'm not afraid of any Thing that's sanguinary and violent; tho' some have

have the Impudence, in Defiance to all *Fa^x* and *Truth*, to give this the Title of a *bloody Reign*.

I MIGHT go farther a great deal, and shew, That there were none of those Grievances in 1715, that were but too justly complain'd of in 41; and then, I might also take Notice, that both *Houses* of Parliament, which are so considerable a Part of the *Legislature*, were engag'd in that unhappy Quarrel with the King: But, in the late Case, which now begins a little to revive again, there is no such Thing. There is Nothing laid to King GEORGE's Charge, but, That by the Concurrence of many Parliaments, and that also of very different *Complexions*, He possesseth the *Throne*, in Exclusion of him, who had never any Title or just Pretence thereto; whose suspected Birth would render it *scandalous*, and whose idolatrous Religion would make it *ruinous*, if he should fill the Throne. Concerning the Interest of the Subjects, there is, there can be Nothing laid to King GEORGE's Charge, but that He hath discarded a Set of Men, that had almost ruin'd and undone the Nation: This is the great *Grievance*, that is complain'd of: But this, instead of being a *Grievance*, is, I think, no other, than a Piece of *Justice*, to an injur'd Nation. And then, as for the Parliament, they are as hearty and entire in the KING's and COUNTRY's Interest, as can be wish'd for, in a Nation so much divided as ours is. And yet, how vehemently is the Rebellion (as it is term'd) of 41, decry'd by those very Men that were lately engag'd against their SOVEREIGN! What Monsters are the poor *Dissenters* made on the 30th of *January*, because a Few of their Principles, did happen to be on the Parliament's Side, whilst several others of the same Principles, were not! If it should be granted, that these Few did amiss; 'tis nothing to us of the present Generation.

tion. And besides, If they were mistaken, they were countenanc'd and misled by Part of the *Legislature*. But what have those to say for themselves, that were any Way concern'd in the late *Rebellion*? Our *Pulpits* have often, but I think our Laws are more cautious in styling the War of 41 *Rebellion*: because the *Lords* and *Commons*, then assembled in Parliament were concern'd in it. But let it pass under what *Character* and *Title* it will, 'tis certain, that if that was bad, this must needs be ten thousand times worse. That was to secure us against *Popery*, this to introduce it, and lodge the supreme Power in *popish Hands*. That was upon a Pretence of redressing Grievances, which were not causelessly complain'd of; this must be to involve us in Grievances, which now (blessed be God) we are free from. That was to deliver us from *arbitrary Power*; this could have no other Tendency, than to render us some of the most compleat *Slaves* of any in the World. That was to save (as 'twas truly said) a sinking Nation; but this, if we consider Things well, could be no other, than to ruin a most happy People.

If then 41 be a Year so very black, in the Account of some; methinks 1715, should be abundantly blacker. There might a great deal be plausibly said (if our Vindication made it necessary, as it doth not) for what was transacted then: But it certainly transcends all human *Skill*, to devise a reasonable Pretence for any Rebellion against our Present SOVEREIGN, the *End* of whole Government, is the Happiness and Prosperity of his People; and the *Measure* of it, the Laws that He found among us. From henceforward then, it may be expected of the fierce Part of the *sacred Order*, that they should be more mild and gentle towards *Dissenters*, who had very little or nothing to do in kindling the *Controversy* of 41; or else drop
their

their Regard to the late Rebellion, which in too many of them, was too visible and transparent, to be hid under the *Mask* of the most solemn Oaths. So little was the Regard that many paid to these awful Solemnities, that if it may justifiably be said of any, (as I don't care it should) That their Religion is Rebellion, and their Faith Faction, (which are some of the Expressions in the Prayers for the 29th of *May*) I think, it may be said of the late *Rebels*, and their *Abettors*, with as much Truth and Reason, as of any in the World; but with a thousand times more, than it can be said of those of whom it is.

BUT, to plead more directly to the *Charge*, viz. That the *Dissenters* have most notoriously offended against *Cæsar*. I say, That if by *Dissenters*, in this Charge, are meant those that are commonly call'd *Presbyterians*; I must answer, with *St. Paul*, That we have not offended in this Respect neither, as we are represented: To make which evident, I desire it may be consider'd,

(I) THAT this War that ended with the Ruin of the King, was not begun upon a Religious Account. 'Twas, indeed, by some call'd *Bellum Episcopale*; but this is no farther true, than that some of the *Clergy*, had a great Hand in blowing the *Coals*. Their Practices, and Influence in the *Star-Chamber*, and *High Commission-Court*, as they were extremely grievous and vexatious to some; so they sour'd the Spirits of a great many, and procur'd them Enemies not a few: and so also, it tended much to alienate the Hearts of many of the most serious in the Land from them, that they bore so hard upon great Numbers of the most learned and laborious *Ministers* in the Nation; that they countenanc'd the Suppression of *Lectures* and *Afternoon Sermons*, and encourag'd *Sports* on the Lord's-Day; that they used the Interest they had
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in the King's *Conscience* and *Councils*, to put him upon those surprizing Methods of Government, that were so extremely burdensome to the People. This made the *Bishops*, indeed, to be less pity'd by many, when they saw them strip'd of those *Dignities* and *Powers*, which they thought they had abus'd to the Nation's Prejudice. And then, another Thing that did them much Disservice, was ; That the *Papists* were in such great Countenance ; that they could have their Books and Pamphlets licens'd, whilst those that wrote against them, and for the Protestant Religion, could not. And it was also extremely disserviceable to them, that they press'd Conformity to some new *Inventions* with so much Rigor ; and particularly, in some Things, that were thought to have a Tendency to the Introduction of Popery. To these, and several other Things of the like Kind, was it owing, that many Bishops were so little regretted when laid aside.

And true also it is, that the Parliament express'd their Fears of Popery, when they saw how much the Papists were courted and caress'd : How liberally they contributed to the War against *Scotland* : How readily they came into the King's Measures for raising Money ; and what an *Ascendant* the *Queen* (who was a profess'd Papist) had over the King. These Things did startle and alarm them ; and especially, when News was brought of the terrible *Carnage* that was made by the Papists in *Ireland* ; and how they threatn'd, That when they had destroy'd all the Protestants there, they would come over, and destroy the *Hereticks* here also. But, that the original Design of the War, was to pull down the Church, and kindled by the *Presbyterians* to this End, can be asserted by none, with any Truth or Reason ; and hardly, without much Malice, by any that are not Strangers to the Histories of those Times. Nay farther, it must be own'd,

own'd, that it was not begun, with any Design to pull down the King. And therefore we may observe, That in all the Parliament's Orders for raising Money and Forces, the Security of the King's Person, as well as the Liberties of the People, was declar'd as a Thing sincerely intended. And we have the more Reason to think that it was so; because in the famous *Solemn League and Covenant*, which did not take place till the War had been continu'd with various Success for a long Time, the Preservation of the King's Person is expressly provided for. Yea, and afterwards, when the King threw himself, through the bad Condition of his Affairs, upon the *Scots*, and they were threaten'd with a War unless they deliver'd him; they would not do this, notwithstanding the Danger wherewith they were threaten'd, but upon Promises of his being treated as a King. And therefore, as a Doctor of the *Church of England* says, when they perceiv'd what *black Designs* were form'd against him, they loudly complain'd of *Breach of Faith* *.

THIS plainly shews, That the most violent *Presbyterians*, as far as they were concern'd in this unhappy *Quarrel*, between the King and Parliament, had no Designs against the King's Person. And I believe, that the Parliament had none neither, when the Quarrel began: But their great Design, was to redress Grievances, and to prevent the King from being arbitrary, which they thought they had Reason to fear he intended to be, notwithstanding former Concessions, when he came with a *Guard* and demanded Five of their Members, before the War, and afterward retir'd towards the *North*, and there set up his *Standard*. "Whoever advis'd the King" to this rash Attempt, (says an Historian, that always puts the most favourable Interpretation upon

* Dr. *West's* Sermon on the 30th of January 1712, before the House of Commons, p. 14.

on the King's Actions) "are justly chargeable
 "with all the Blood that was afterwards spilt :
 "For this sudden Action, was the first and visible
 "Ground of all our following Miseries *." 'Twas
 therefore upon a Civil Account, that the War was
 begun ; and accordingly this War, with the deplo-
 rable Issues and Consequences of it, are without
 all Reason charg'd upon us. And concerning this,
 we may be further satisfy'd, by considering,

(2.) THAT those that began it, and had the
 chief Management of it, were of the Church.
 That both Houses, of *Lords* and *Commons* (except-
 ing an inconsiderable Number) consisted of those,
 that had always liv'd in Conformity to the *Church*
of England, and the Episcopal Government. Al-
 most all the *Lords Lieutenants* (Three only except-
 ed) were Episcopal Conformists. The Earl of *Essex*,
 and almost all his *General Officers*, were for the
 Church. And so also were the Sea Captains. Yea,
 when the Parliament had rais'd an Army, and after-
 wards sent Proposals for Peace to the King at *Not-*
tingham, one of their Propositions was, That they
 were to submit to *Episcopacy* as the Form of Church
 Government. Besides, Archbishop *Williams* took
 a Commission from the Parliament, and was one
 of their *Generals*. And when at length, through
 the pressing Necessity of their Affairs, they were
 forc'd to implore Help of the *Scots*, and the *Co-*
venant took place ; when it was administred to the
 Lords by Mr. *Coleman*, they took it, with this open
 Profession, That it did not signify the *Renunciation*
 of *Episcopacy*. Farther, there were none, but Nine
 Ten at first, in the *Assembly* at *Westminster*, but
 what were Episcopal Divines †. And Nothing
 can be gather'd from all the Parliament's *Remon-*
strances

* *Welwood's Memoirs* p. 68.

† *Baxter's* 3^d Plea for Peace. p. 5, 6, 7, 8, &c. *Fuller's*
Church History. *History of Sham-Plots, &c.*

frances and Declarations, but that they were contented with a moderate Episcopacy; and intended no other Change, but only to keep Bishops from meddling so much as formerly they had, in *State-Affairs*. They had carry'd on the War a great While, before they discover'd the least Intention to lay aside the *Order and Government* of Bishops. And very likely it is, that as this, and many other Things, that happen'd in the Progress of the War, were never so much as thought of at first; so they would never have come to that *Crisis*, that at last they did, if the *Army*, which at length grew too strong for their *Masters*, had not new model'd the Parliament, and by *Threatnings*, *Self-denying Votes*, and some other Methods of the like Nature, turn'd out, and kept in such, as 'twas most for their Purpose thus to manage. So that to lay the War of 41, and its after Consequences at our Doors, is altogether contrary to *Truth* and *Fact*.

'Tis not my Business to determine, Whether the Parliament did well or ill, in making that Stand that it did against *arbitrary Proceedings*. However, seeing we know how valuable it is to be a Free People; I believe, we could hardly like it in any Parliament, who are entrusted with the Preservation of our *Religion, Laws, and Liberties*, (the dearest and most valuable Things we have in this World) if without Concern, they should see them to be swallow'd up, contrary to the important Trust repos'd in them. Such Encroachments of the *Royal Prerogative* on the Privileges of the Nation, was, (as our Historians say) a real Case, before there was the least Appearance of the Troubles of 41. And therefore, some have thought, that 'twas Noble in the Parliament, to give *Check* to these Encroachments, as the certain Fore-runners of Misery and Ruin: But yet, if any are

to be blam'd for this, it must be those that were for *Episcopacy*. 'Twas by such, that the War (first begun by the Court) was on the Parliament's Side encourag'd and carry'd on. 'Twas manag'd entirely almost by *Churchmen* at the Beginning. There were indeed, those Differences of *High* and *Low* among us then, that there are now. And 'tis true, that those that were highest, together with the *Papists*, and most of the profaner Sort of the Nation joyn'd with the King: But tho' the Majority of the Parliament were *Low-Churchmen*, they were Churchmen still; as much as those were, who like true *Patriots*, and Lovers of their Country, joyn'd with our Present KING in suppressing the late *unnatural* and most *villanous Rebellion*. This is what I learn, from all the Historians that I have consulted about this Matter; and I see Nothing to disprove it, but this ridiculous Thing, That they had the Spirit of *Presbytery* in them. And won't these Men say the very same of our glorious KING, and our Two Houses of Parliament now? Yes, 'tis certain they do; and therefore, after-Times may say, as some do in Reference to those that are past, That all those great and brave Things that are transacted now, are done by the *Presbyterians*: But this, I think, is to detract as much as well they can from the Honour of the Church; and is besides such a gross and notorious Piece of Nonsense, that I wonder, that Men of *Parts* and *Learning* are not asham'd to own it.

(3.) I WOULD add, That those of our Persuasion, did all that they could, and more than most would have done, to prevent the *Tragedy* of this Day. Indeed, had the King hearken'd to them, and some of his best Friends that were about him, Things might have been prevented from coming to that sad *Extremity* that they did. Had the Treaty of *Uxbridge* gone on, which the King first consent-

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ed to, and afterwards broke off, he might have preserv'd both his Crown and Life. But upon receiving a Letter, *fatal* in its Consequences, from the Lord *Montross*, of a great Victory in *Scotland*, that very Night, or Morning that he had promis'd to sign a Warrant for his *Commissioners*; "It dash'd out, (says the Historian) in a Moment all the Impressions, that his best Friends had been making upon him for a considerable Time, towards a full Settlement with his People *." This exasperated the Parliament to the last Degree, and the War was renew'd with more Fury than ever. However, the bearing Part of the Parliament then, had no mind to do any Thing, but to bring the King to such Terms, as might for the future secure their *Religion, Rights and Properties*. Accordingly, when the King was fallen into their Hands, those that were *Presbyterians*, joyn'd with that Part of the Parliament that Voted, That the King's Concessions were a sufficient Ground for Peace.

BUT how then (may it be said) did he come to lose his Head? I answer, by the *Treachery* of Papists behind the *Curtain*, and the Violence of some *Sectarian Officers*, who I fear had little or no Religion, and had wrested the Power out of those Hands, in which it first was, and in which it still ought to have continu'd.

THAT the Papists had a Hand in this Tragedy, is asserted by several, and particularly, by Dr. *Peter du Moulin*, who was himself a *Dignitary* of the *Church of England*. Who, among other Things, tells us this strange Story, "† That when the News
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* *Welwood's Memoirs*, p. 77.

† Dr. *du Moulin's* Vindication of the Sincerity of the Protestant Religion, in Answer to *Philanax Anglicus*, p. 58, 59, &c.

“ of the King’s Execution was brought to *Roan*, a
 “ Protestant Gentleman of good Credit, was pre-
 “ sent in a great Company of Jesuited Persons,
 “ where, after great Expressions of Joy for what
 “ had happen’d, the gravest of the Company
 “ spake much after this sort : The King of *Eng-*
 “ *land* at his Marriage, had promis’d us the Re-
 “ establishment of the Catholick Religion in *Eng-*
 “ *land*; and when he delay’d to fulfil his Promise,
 “ we summon’d him from Time to Time to per-
 “ form it : We came so far as to tell him, we
 “ should be forc’d to take those Courses, that
 “ would bring him to his Destruction : We have
 “ given him lawful Warning; and when no
 “ Warning would serve, we have kept our Word
 “ to him, since he would not keep his Word to
 “ us.” The same Author tells us, “ That the
 “ Thing was debated before the Faculty of *Sorbon*,
 “ and afterwards at *Rome*, before the Pope and
 “ his Council; and that it was there determin’d,
 “ that it was both lawful and expedient to do it;
 “ and that in pursuance of an Order from *Rome*,
 “ many Jesuits came over, and put themselves in
 “ the Army : And farther, That the Pope order’d
 “ all the Papers to be burnt that related to this
 “ Affair, when he knew that the Fact was com-
 “ mitted, and by most detested.” * When this
 “ Relation of Dr. *Du Moulin*’s came first abroad in
 “ King *Charles II*’s Time, it struck such a Terror
 “ into the Queen Mother and those Jesuited Per-
 “ sons about her, that they cast themselves at
 “ the King’s Feet, to desire that Justice might be
 “ done upon One that had cast such a Reflection
 “ upon

* Addenda to Conformist’s first Plea for Nonconformists,
 p. 81, 82.

“ upon them and their Religion. But, (says my
 “ Author) the Matter Was soon hush’d, and came
 “ only to this ; That the Queen Mother was to
 “ beseech the King, that Dr. *Du Moulin* might be
 “ forbidden to write any more Books in *English*.
 “ And accordingly, he was advis’d by the Secre-
 “ tary of State, Sir *William Morrice*, not to write
 “ Books in *English*, because it was not his native
 “ Language. However, the said Sir *William*, in
 “ the same, or another Letter to him, writes
 “ thus: This I may safely, and will and do con-
 “ fidently say, That many Arguments did create
 “ a violent Suspicion, very near convincing Evi-
 “ dences, that the Irreligion of the Papists was
 “ chiefly guilty of the Murder of that Excellent
 “ Prince, the Odium whereof, they would now
 “ file to the Account of the Protestant Religion.”

IF Dr. *Du Moulin*, had not had sufficient Evi-
 dence for the Proof of what he relates of this Mat-
 ter, the Papists would have endeavour’d to de-
 tect the *Forgery*; and had Interest enough at Court
 to bring him to Repentance for what he had as-
 serted; But tho’ he challeng’d them often, they
 had not Courage to accept the *Challenge*, as con-
 scious that what he said, was too true, to admit of
 any Confutation. What this Reverend Doctor
 says, is said also by other Persons. And particu-
 larly, Mr. *Pryn*, asserts much the same in his *Nar-*
rative, and tells us, * “ That the King was advis’d
 “ thereof Two Days before his Removal from the
 “ Isle of *Wight*, and wish’d to provide against it.”
 And so Dr. *Cave*, in a Sermon of his on the 30th of
Jan. 1679, says, “ We now know too well, whence
 “ the Doctrines come of rebelling against, and
 “ deposing, and murdering of Kings; we know
 “ the

* Mr. *Pryn*’s true and faithful Narrative, p. 46.

“ the Plot of this Day’s bloody Tragedy was laid
 “ at Rome, and acted by the Sects of their making
 “ among ourselves.” What *Sects* he means, he
 doth not say : But that he can’t mean the *Presby-*
terians, or other sober Dissenters among us, I be-
 lieve, because he was too well-acquainted with
 our own Histories. Concerning such Dissenters,
 Dr. Burnet says, in a 30th of *January* Sermon 1680.
 “ Many of the considerable Dissenters, did even
 “ then, when it was not so safe to do it as it is
 “ now, openly declare against it, both in their
 “ Sermons and Writings ; and were highly in-
 “ strumental in bringing Home his Majesty : If
 “ some Few have justify’d the shedding of this
 “ Blood, as their Numbers have been but incon-
 “ siderable, so their *Maxims* have been borrow’d
 “ chiefly from popish Writers *.”

AND further, It is certain, that when they
 knew the King’s Death was resolv’d upon, and the
Presbyterians were try’d whether they would come
 into the Design, they declar’d their Abhorrence
 thereof. Yea, they did not only declare this in
 private ; but when the King’s *Tryal* came on, they
 had the Courage to preach with all possible Vehe-
 mency against it. This is fully and largely prov’d
 to our Hand, by One, who styles himself a bene-
 ficed Minister, and regular Son of the *Church of*
England, in his *Addenda to the first Plea of the Con-*
formists for the Nonconformists, pag. 73, &c. I
 don’t know that any One pretends to answer
 what is said by this Reverend Author, and since
 offer’d to the World by the Reverend and Learned
 Dr. Calamy, in his *Life of Mr. Baxter* ; and till
 this be done, I shall content myself to take a few
 Things

* Dr. Burnet’s Sermon on the 30th of *January*, 1680.
 pag. 16, 17.

Things more, of what hath been already written and unconfuted. This must be done in writing the History of what is past. And this Discourse may possibly fall into some Hands that have not those valuable Books by them.

THE *Presbyterians* then, to do Justice to their *Consciences*, *Cause*, and *Character*, did not only preach, as I said before, " But drew up a Writing to the Lord General (which was printed) declaring their Abhorrence of all Violence against the Person of the King; and urging him, and the Army to take Heed of such an Action: And this Bold and faithful Thing was done, when the King was in Danger *." And tho' they had Reason to think, that they should exasperate those to the last Degree, that had then all the Power in their Hands; nay, tho' they were threaten'd by some with the *Resentments* of the *Soldiery*, and told, That if a new War did ensue these Practices of theirs, they should have no Quarter; That they would spare neither Man, Woman, or Child, *English* or Stranger; yet rather than not discharge their *Consciences* in such a *critical* *Future*; they bravely tell them, with those *Worthies* in *Daniel*, That *the God whom they served, was able to deliver them* †. Yea, notwithstanding those *Menaces*, they publish'd it to the World, " That they were wholly unsatisfy'd with those Proceedings; And that they held themselves bound in Duty to God, Religion, the King, Parliament, and Kingdom, to profess before God, Angels and Men, That they verily believ'd, the taking away the King's Life in the Way of Tryal then depend-
ing

* Dr. Calamy's Life of Mr. Baxter; first Part, p. 60, 61.

† Daniel xxx. 17.

“ ing, was not only not agreeable to the Word
 “ of GOD, the Principles of the Protestant Re-
 “ ligion (never yet stain’d with the least Drop of
 “ the Blood of a King) or the fundamental Con-
 “ stitution of the Kingdom; but contrary to
 “ them: As also to the *Oath of Allegiance*, the *Pro-*
 “ *testation of May* the 5th 1641, and the *Solemn*
 “ *League and Covenant*; from all which, or any of
 “ which Engagements, they knew not any Pow-
 “ er on Earth able to absolve them or others.
 AND then farther, “ They warn’d and exhort-
 “ ed, in the Name of the Great GOD, all that
 “ belong’d to their Charge and Ministry, to keep
 “ close to the Ways of GOD, the Rules of Reli-
 “ gion, and Fundamental Constitution and Go-
 “ vernment of the Kingdom; not suffering them-
 “ selves to be seduc’d from it, by being drawn to
 “ subscribe the late Models or *Agreement of the Peo-*
 “ *ple*, which directly tended to subvert the Fun-
 “ damental Government, Privileges of Parlia-
 “ ment, Union between the Two Kingdoms; and
 “ to mourn bitterly for the Sins of all Degrees
 “ of Men, and beg of GOD, That He would re-
 “ strain the Violence of Men, that they might
 “ not dare to draw upon themselves, and the
 “ Kingdom the Blood of their Sovereign.” This
 “ Representation was sign’d by about Sixty of the
 “ *London Ministers* (whose Names are inserted in
 “ *Dr. Calamy’s Abridgment*, and the *Conformist’s*
 “ *Plea*) and deliver’d by some of them to the Ge-
 “ neral and Council of War.” Nay, besides this,
 they went so far, as to attempt to desire the Lord
Fairfax, to rescue the King out of the Hands of
 those, that they thought had a Design upon his
 Life.

NOR was this only the Sense of the *Presbyteri-*
ans in and about *London*; but they had Multitudes
 in the Country that joyn’d with them in their
 Detestation

Detestation of what was then doing. So very obstinate and inflexible were the *Presbyterians*, and so bent upon the Preservation of the King; that *Cromwell* complain'd to One, (that own'd it after he had a good Preferment in the *Church of England*) "That he and the Council of Officers could not go on currently in their Designs against the King's Life, by Reason of the Opposition of the *Presbyterian* Ministers. Mr. *Calamy* particularly, told them at one of their Meetings, That they were prosecuting the Jesuits Work; Mr. *Marshal* said, They were about that, which would be a Blot to the Protestant Religion: And Mr. *Whitaker*, who stood up to speak to the same Purpose, was so overwhelm'd with the Thoughts of what the Officers were then designing against the King, that he was not able to speak a Word, being melted into Tears with the Apprehensions of the approaching Tragedy *."

I COULD be more large and particular, if there was Occasion: But from what hath been said, I may justly appeal to all Persons that are impartial, Whether the *Presbyterians* could have done more, either to shew their Dislike, or prevent the Perpetration of that *Fact*, that by too many, that do, or should know better, is charg'd upon them. 'Tis Nothing to me, if (as some perhaps may think) they did more than was consistent with good Policy; very sure I am, that they did all that was necessary to convince the World, that they were Men of *Honesty* and *Integrity*. Their Carriage was so becoming, and so agreeable to the Duty of good Subjects, that my Lord *Clarendon*, or rather his *Editors*, who are partial

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enough

* Conformists first Plea for Nonconformists, p. 79, 80.

enough in other Instances, do seem plainly to own, That the Blood of the King ought not to be laid at their Door. And so also Dr. Kennet in his *Compleat History of England*, who is always free enough to censure the *Presbyterians* in other Respects, is forc'd to acknowledge, in Justice to the *Honour* and *Honesty* of their Ministers (who no doubt had the Concurrence of their People in what they did) that they labour'd to prevent the execrable *Fact* of putting the King to Death; tho' it was all to no Purpose †. Let this *Tragedy* then, be in all Respects as Black as it is represented; what I have said, and others before me, is, I think, abundantly sufficient, to vindicate those of our Persuasion, from having any Hand therein. Nay, to all this, I will be bold to add, That the *Presbyterians* did more to prevent that *Fact*, that is so much exclaim'd against, than any *Churchmen* in the Nation did, or had *Courage*, not to say the *Honesty*, to do. Let Persons then, that are but acquainted with the Histories of those unhappy Times, do us Justice, and they must say, That in this Respect also, we have not offended any thing at all. We laid ourselves open to *Rage* and *Violence*, to put a Stop, if possible, to those Designs that were carrying on.

BUT notwithstanding all that I have said, some perhaps, will still charge the *Royal Blood* upon us, because we are not so free and lavish in the Praises of King *Charles*, as some are. To which it may be answer'd, That we can't have perhaps the same Notions of him that some may have; we dare not parallel his Sufferings with those of our *blest Saviour*; because in ourselves,

selves, we could not excuse it from *Blasphemy* to do so. We can't bring ourselves to think, that he had no *arbitrary Designs*, when we find this freely own'd by those very Historians that write most in his Favour. We are much shock'd by the *Letter* that he is said to write to the Earl of *Antrim* about the Rebellion in *Ireland*; which was thought so *genuine* and *authentick*, that upon the Examination of it in the most solemn Manner, by a *Committee of Council* here, and before the *House of Commons* in *Ireland*, he had his Estate restor'd to him by King *Charles II.* These, and the like Things, may hinder us from being extravagant in his Praises, tho' we think ourselves concern'd to prove, That we are altogether innocent as to his Blood. And why should we take his Death upon ourselves, when we neither justify, nor are chargeable with it? This Charge is of so high and odious a Nature, and hath so often been used to foment a *popular Indignation*; that I hope, you'll for once forgive me, that I have endeavour'd (by setting this Matter in a clear Light) to shew, how causeless and unjust it is; and upon an Occasion that led me so fairly to it, to vindicate you, and the rest of our Persuasion; and to let you know how you may vindicate yourselves, and answer what is alledg'd against you upon this Account. Give me Leave,

III. To close up what I have to say, with an Exhortation to you, and other *Protestant Dissenters*, To behave so unexceptionably, as that, however we are accus'd, none may be able to prove any Thing upon us, unworthy the Character of good Christians, of peaceable Neighbours, or loyal Subjects,

I. THEN, I earnestly beseech you, to carry it

so, as to keep a Conscience void of Offence towards GOD. I entreat you to act with such Decency and Exactness, as that the World, how capitious and ill-natur'd soever, mayn't have any just Occasion to say of you, That notwithstanding your Pretences to *Reformation*, to better Helps, and greater *Purity*, you are in all Respects as bad, not to say worse, than other Men; That you use the Liberty you boast of, *as an Occasion to the Flesh*; and that whatever distinguishing Advantages you pretend to, you pay no greater Respect to the Laws of Heaven, nor are in any one Instance of a *moral Nature*, more regular and exact, than those you separate yourselves from, through a laudable Fear of offending GOD, if you should not.

You have Reason to value yourselves upon it, That you are some of those that press for a farther Reformation in religious Matters; that in so doing, you take your Direction from Scripture, and act upon the *Principles*, and tread in the *Steps*, of all the *Reformed Churches* Abroad; and that you concur in these your Generous and Pious Sentiments with those *holy Martyrs* and *Confessors*, *Hooper*, *Bradford*, &c. some of the first and brightest *Glories* of the REFORMATION among ourselves; That you contend for the Worship and Church-Government, and thereby for the compleat *Faith* that was at first delivered to the Saints. That you are so affectionately desirous of being built upon the *Foundation of the Apostles and Prophets*, *Jesus Christ himself being the chief Corner-stone*. These Things, as far as they go, are highly commendable: But yet you may not think, that you shall receive any Thing of the Lord, any of those matchless and most glorious Felicities that GOD hath laid up for the Saints Above, unless there be a sincere and entire Reformation of Heart and Life.

IF it be but barely an Opinion of your own, (tho' I think it indeed to be much more) that you have better *Principles*, and better *Helps* than others, you can't act according to the just and necessary Consequences of such a Notion, unless you also lead proportionably better *Lives*. You have no Reason to be ashamed of what you profess. The Interest in which you are embark'd, is not the worse, because low and despis'd; because it hath formerly been a persecuted, and is not now a *popular Interest*. This is no more an Objection against you, than it was against CHRIST and his Apostles, and the Christian Church in its greatest Purity: But it would be an unanswerable Objection against you, if your Management should not be found to harmonize with your Principles, and be such, as that you could not in Reason be ashamed of this. In Conformity to our own Pretensions, we should charge it upon ourselves to act so, as that under all our Accusations, we may be able to say, with the great Apostle of the *Gentiles*, That we *have lived in all good Conscience towards GOD*.

2. I BESEECH you to act so, as that, however you are reproach'd, none may be able to prove, that you are uncharitable with Respect to others. That you are of that *narrow* unchristian Spirit, as to confine the Blessings of the GOSPEL to yourselves, and leave others to the *uncovenanted Mercies* of GOD. Tho' you can't help it that you differ from others; yet don't condemn all, that are not in all Points the same that you are. Make those just Allowances that Christianity directs to, for *Temper*, for *Education*, for *early Prepossessions*, &c. that have so great an Influence upon the Judgment, and give Rise to different Apprehensions about Things that

that are of a disputable Nature. Let it still be your Honour to have more Charity for others, than they have for you. Don't, like too many others, make Heaven, which is offer'd to all sincere Christians, an *Inclosure* only for your own Party. But like the *genuine Off-spring* of your Heavenly FATHER, endeavour to have the most Catholick and diffusive Goodness; and be sincerely desirous of the Happiness of others, as well as of yourselves. Don't suffer yourselves to be sour'd and exasperated with the hard Usage you have met with; but labour to be possess'd of that *Charity that suffereth long, and is kind; that Charity that envieth not; that vaunteth not itself; that is not puffed up; that doth not behave itself unseemly, that seeketh not her own, that is not easily provoked, that thinketh no Evil, that rejoiceth not in Iniquity, but rejoiceth in the Truth: that beareth all Things, that believeth all Things, that hopeth all Things, that endureth all Things.* Such a Charity, is not only very commendable in itself, but absolutely necessary to qualify you for the heavenly State. This will evidence you to be the true Disciples of CHRIST. This will do much to prepare you for all the great and sacred *Solemnities* of our Holy Religion. 'Twill make you acceptable to GOD, and render you approv'd with Men; or at least, will contribute much to bear you up under those unjust Reproaches that may be cast upon you for your Profession, and Dissent from other Persons. And particularly, it will clear you from the popular and odious Charge of *Schism*, so confidently cast upon you for your Separation: But causelessly, if you maintain the *Unity of the Spirit, in the Bond of Peace.*

3. LET me beseech you to carry it so, as that none may be able to charge you with
Disloyalty.

Disloyalty. 'Twould be very pleasing to a great many under the Present *Reign*, if with themselves you would run into this great Sin. But, as we never had so good a King, unless we allow him to be so, who was our great Deliverer from *Po-pery*, and *arbitrary Power*; who laid the Foundation of our present Happiness, and is never to be mention'd but with *Honour* to Himself, and *Thankfulness* to GOD; so let our KING always have Occasion to think, that we, with those that are now about Him, are some of his best and most faithful Subjects. Let it be the standing and distinguishing *Blemish* of others, (which was never yet of *Protestant Dissenters*,) to be best pleas'd with bad Kings, and to murmur, and be uneasy, under those that are good. You can't but know, that it hath been represented to our Disadvantage, that we are Enemies to Kings, both Name, and Thing. That our *Nurseries of Learning*, are *Nurseries of Faction, Disloyalty, and Rebellion*. That in them we are train'd up to scarce any Thing else, but wickedly to pull down both *Church* and *State*. Now, I leave it to the Guilty to judge, with what *Conscience* they can venture such Things into the World, which are Nothing but the uncharitable *Figments* of their own Brain; and have not so much as the Appearance of Truth. If there were really any such *Seminaries* as these in the Land, they ought to be under the Discouragements that ours are. 'Twould be just to deny a Liberty to any to have the Care of *Youth*, who were known to be such, as would poyson them with Principles destructive to the *Community*, and to the Peace and Happiness of *Civil Society*. Yea, if any such Thing can be found among us, the *Schism* and *Occasional-Acts*, are necessary Restraints upon us; and 'twould be an Injury to the Nation, to repeal

repeal them : But if our *Academies* were the Nurseries of such pernicious Principles ; how is it, that there can be no *Riots, Tumults, or Rebellions*, fasten'd upon us ?

THE World, I believe, must know it to be true, That we have been better in the worst *Times*, than some have been in the best *Reigns*. And as for our *Academies*, (which I may be allow'd to know better than our Accusers) there is Nothing, I am sure, taught in them, but what is most agreeable to that great Command, *Of Fearing GOD, and Honouring the KING*. And there is Nothing doth gall some so much now, as that we honour the KING, that Excellent KING, that GOD hath set over us, so much as we do. But why should not we ; why should not all His Subjects honour Him, whom the GOD of Heaven hath delighted to honour ? Why should we not have Him in the greatest *Respect and Veneration*, who would most willingly be the *Common Father* of all His People ? Who is Wise to govern us in the best Manner ; and Good to make us the most Happy and Flourishing People under Heaven. Such a KING is worthy of the highest Honour. We could never have had One that would be a more zealous Defender of our HOLY RELIGION ; nor more religiously tender of our LAWS and LIBERTIES. We could never have had One, whose *Actions and Inclinations* are more suited to our *Constitution*. Who was so singularly Good as to govern His native Subjects by Law, when He might, with other Princes of such an *extensive Prerogative*, have made His *Will* the Rule of His Government. How much should we admire and bless GOD, that we have such a KING ! and that He is likely to be succeeded by the noblest

noblest OFF-SPRING that the World can boast of! Immediately, we hope, by One, that doth already inherit his Father's *Virtues*; and afterwards, we trust, to latest *Posterity*, by Those, who give the brightest Hopes, that we may expect from Them, and Those that may descend from Them, the utmost that is to be expected from earthly *Monarchs*. Should we not be most thankful to GOD for such a KING, and such a ROYAL FAMILY, our Ingratitude would deserve that GOD should put us under such a poor *Bramble*, as too many are fond of, from whom *Fire must be expected to come forth and destroy the Cedars of our Lebanon* *. We should deserve such a King as Samuel describes, 1 Sam. viii. 11, 12, &c. A King that would not fail to teach the best of the Land, the noblest *Patrons* of the Protestant Religion, the greatest Friends of *Liberty* and *Property*, as Gideon did the Men of Succoth, with *Briars and Thorns of the Wilderness*. That any should be fond of such an Infelicity; That a People, that are happy already, and might be much happier if they would; that a Free and Flourishing People, should be thus violently fond of *Chains* and *Misery*, seems to be as strange a Delusion, as any that was foretold should happen in the latter Times. I hope, GOD will never punish the Nation for the Madness of these Men; but mercifully regard the Gratitude of those that rejoyce in His Present most Excellent MAJESTY, and the ROYAL FAMILY; who have the peculiar Felicity, besides their *Figure* and *Distinction* in the World, to be adorn'd with all that's endearing in the

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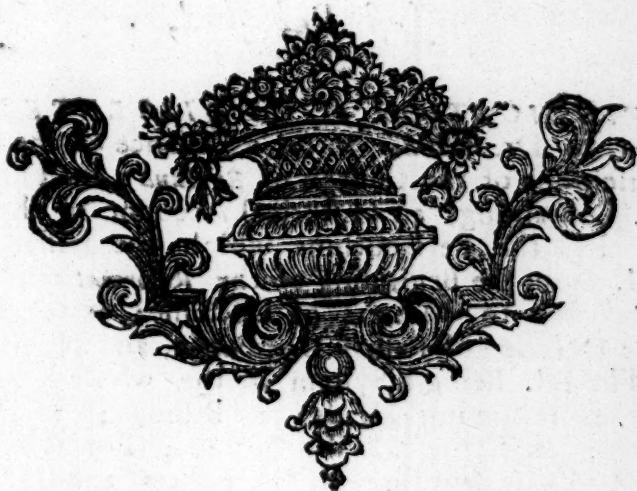
Human

* Judges ix. 15.

Human Nature. I am sure, none have ever been; I hope none will ever be more forward and hearty to rejoyce in our KING, and support His Government, than the *Protestant Dissenters*. There is Nothing in our Principles but what doth strictly oblige us to honour all our Superiors, and especially the KING; and to pay double Honour to One that doth so very much deserve it as King GEORGE doth. Let us then always act consistently with ourselves. Let us be peaceable, and *pray for the Peace of Jerusalem*. Let us be loyal, and pray for the increasing Prosperity of Him, that GOD in so much Mercy to these poor Nations, hath set upon the Throne. Let us distinguish our Loyalty to His Person, by a Zeal for His Government, and the Succession of His FAMILY, the most Illustrious Ornaments, and the greatest Hopes of the *Protestant Interest*. Tho' we can't serve Him, as other of his Subjects do; yet let us be forward to do Him all the Service that we can. Let us shew that Nothing can discourage our Zeal for the best of Princes, nor our heartiest Prayers, That His Enemies may be *clothed with Shame*; and that His Crown may flourish much and long upon his Head; tho' we mayn't be allow'd to share with our fellow Subjects in his *Royal Favours*. Let us carry it thus towards GOD, towards Men, and towards our SOVERAIGN; and then, let our Treatment be what it will; *Our rejoycing must be this, the Testimony of our Conscience, that in Simplicity and godly Sincerity, not with fleshly Wisdom, but by the Grace of God, we have had our Conversation in the World*. And thus, however, we are aspers'd and reproach'd; CHRIST will own and applaud us at the last Day; and do that Justice to our injur'd Character and Reputation,

tation, which neither we may, nor can do. And tho' the little fading Honours and Profits of the World may be thought too good for us; yet a Gracious GOD, will not think it too much, to give us that Kingdom that can't be mov'd, and that Glory that fadeth not away.

F I N I S.



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